2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

GRANDPARENT CLASS. The four words for grandparent indicate an equal importance in all four individuals, subject to the determining factor of propinquity. The grandparents in the male line were normally the leaders and teachers of the whole family group, parents and children alike. The young parents were often away from home, on the active tasks of food getting and it was the grandparents who trained the children in crafts and in moral behavior. A Papago, in looking back on his early education, thinks not of his father but of his grandfather. The loss which would disrupt his home in early life would be that of grandparents, not parents.

The grandfather, in particular, was the moral mentor, talking to the children nightly and waking them before dawn with homilies on virtue and industry. It was he who recited the myths in the proper season and, if there was ritual knowledge to be passed down in the family, he often selected the grandson to receive it.

As the grandfather grew older, he benignantly abdicated his post of family head and the most energetic of his sons managed the family business. The grandfather now became the constant companion of the children and even at present, it is he who normally sits holding the baby while the younger members of the family are at work. When he grew older still, it was the grandchildren who waited on him while the parents did harder tasks. In rare cases where a grandfather happened not to live with the family group, children were detailed to stay with him.

Informant 23 lived in a village from which all his sons had moved away. When he grew too old to work his fields his grandsons in the male line were already grown and married. He rode to his daughter's house and asked for a boy to live with him. "She and her husband didn't say anything. They just told the boy: Get your things and go with your grandfather." Informant 43 was sent regularly during the dry season to live with her paternal grandfather's sister and fetch water for her from the spring a mile away.

The paternal grandmother directed the women of the home group, as the grandfather directed the men. Little girls generally slept on a mat with her and it was she who taught them cooking and basketry while their mothers were out food gathering. She cared for the children while their mother was in the segregation hut, at menstrual periods and childbirth. Moreover, a young father was sure to undergo several periods of ceremonial purification, during which his wife was secluded also. Then the grandmother cooked for the children, instructed them in behavior and gave them their ritual baths. She remained in the home group until her death and if, her husband died first, would be taken into the family of one of her sons where she would continue her duties (I. 5. B. 1; I. 1. A. 3).

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

602 Any sibling of the grandparents was treated much like a grandparent, provided he lived in the home group. Many houses have several dependent old people of this sort addressed briefly as grandparent, without the suffix old man or old woman which indicates a grandparental sibling. In such a case, it is almost impossible to tell by behavior which is the grandparent and which a collateral.

The grandparents in the mother's line normally lived in another village and could be seen only on visits. But these visits might last a long time (I. 1) and also there were many reasons why a mother might return to her own parents. Then these would take the same position as teacher and nurse which was normally occupied by the father's parents (I. 3. C. 5).

Great Grand Parent and Great Great Grandparend Class

603 The more ancient relatives existed only as dependents, cared for in any family which could find room for them. Their unimportance is expressed by the fact that, in their titles, no distinction is made as to sex or line and the remotest, the great great grandparents, are called by the children "younger siblings" in allusion, one informant thought, to their second childhood.

Spouse Class

562 462 Though the man was the head of the family and residence was at his village, there was much emphasis, in daily life, on the equality of the spouses. Each was supreme in a special field of activity and, in many phases of ceremonial life, one could not participate without the other. At home labor, the patriarch directed the men and his wife the women. He disposed of gifts of meat and cultivated crops; she of cooked food and wild crops and the relatives of both shared equally in the distribution, subject to the factor of propinquity.

595 Co-wives were not frequent except with older men who had acquired the goods to support them. They were usually sisters and, in that case, there was no formal precedence of the older. They arranged their work and distributed gifts in committee and the husband accepted their joint decision. Wives who were not related were expected to fit into the sister pattern although the colloquial term "she of whom I am jealous" shows that they did not always do it. But there was no hard and fast rule for precedence of the senior wife. The women of the household were left democratically, to settle their troubles between them.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

it, the method may have been adopted for the occasion because the mothers know the fussiness of whites in such matters. 863 177

Weaning comes later for the Papago than for most white children. Unaware of her child's exact age at the time, the mother who is questioned about it is likely to laugh and say with a little embarrassment, "He was pretty big." Several instances were found in which the youngest child of a family nursed four or five years, but the older children were weaned at from eighteen to thirty months. A few mothers begin weaning at about a year, but they are a small minority; ordinarily the mother continues nursing well into the next pregnancy. 862

Several weaning methods are used. A few mothers in Baboquivari District said that they simply stopped nursing their babies and let them cry for four to fourteen days until they forgot, but elsewhere on the Reservation this was not the practice.

Mothers usually say they "just stop" nursing and that they have no particular difficulty. When a child begins fussing to nurse, the mother does not deny him straightforwardly but puts forth great effort to draw his attention elsewhere. She cajoles him into playing with his siblings or shows him a man coming on horseback or dogs fighting in the yard. Sometimes she is successful in diverting him, and, after several similar instances, the child does "just stop."

If a mother cannot wean a child by this process, she has two alternatives. She may leave the child with his grandmother for a time. If the grandmother lives in the same house, the mother goes away; if not, the child is taken to the grandmother. The weaning is not accomplished at one fell swoop; the baby is left for only a couple of hours at first and eventually overnight. His relationship with a grandmother is always cordial and going to see her is a pleasure, hence this weaning method, like the preceding one, is a relatively painless one. The child seldom gives any trouble for a grandmother; he seems to forget all about nursing unless reminded by the sight of his mother. [603]

A few women, usually those who have no mother or mother-in-law at hand to help, put chili on their breasts to discourage the nursers; one application is usually sufficient.

Weaning means that the child begins to sleep apart from his mother, for she no longer needs to nurse him during the night. In the eastern districts a crib may be provided for the baby, but the general custom on the Reservation is for the weaned child to sleep with one or more of his brothers and sisters in the same room with the parents. If there is no room in the bed with the older children, the baby may sleep with either grandparent or almost any other 866 854

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

young child, he has contacts with other family members from the day of his birth. Regardless of the identities or ages of the persons involved, their relationships with the baby are governed by the same principles as the mother's: a child should be happy; he should have what he wants. Their methods of dealing with the child are essentially the same as the mother's, and the degree to which they employ these methods depends on the intimacy of their associations with the child and their kin ties with him.

It is the grandmother who comes closest to the mother relationship with the child. Ideally this is the paternal grandmother who belongs to the household or lives near by; however, with changes in the old pattern of patrilocal residence, the grandmother of the household may be the mother's mother. In either case, she is a second mother to the baby. She probably assisted at his birth and is intimately associated with him throughout his babyhood. A familiar scene in Papago life is that of the mother and younger women of the household working under the ramada, while the grandmother, relieved of active duty, sits near by swinging the infant in his hammock or holding him in her arms. He soon learns that it is she who is nearly always free to answer his cries and that she is more patient and anxious to please him than the younger women or his brothers and sisters. Hence the child will go to his grandmother as readily as to his mother, often more so. Until he is weaned, the baby is never left by his mother with anyone but the grandmother.

Because of the grandmother's role as substitute mother, the child does not resent being left with her during weaning and always seems glad to go to her. After weaning he frequently stays with her when his mother wants to dance at a fiesta or work away from the house. The old lady expects to share the care of her grandchild and expresses her joy in having him with her by smiles, loving words, and caresses.

To the child the grandmother is, first of all, a gratifier and a champion. As he grows a little older, he sees her authority over all the other children and the adult women of the household as well. Her supervisory position does not affect him much as a very young child, but his early awareness of this role helps to teach him the patterns of authority in the household. Perhaps it also smooths the path of his entrance into the next age group, when he also will be subjected to her direction with somewhat less indulgence.

Grandfather, too, is a source of pleasure to the baby. If he is still active in the fields, the child will not see so much of him as of the grandmother, but the old man will always play with him after the day's work. If the grandfather is too old to do heavy work, he will probably spend many pleasant hours watching his grandchild. Then, or in the evening, when the family gathers, the small one

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

may hear from grandfather some of the old Papago songs or stories and lectures on the virtues of industry and honesty. The baby soon learns that grandfather has authority over everyone in the household, even the baby's own parents. By the time he is old enough to run errands, he will show to his grandfather the respect and obedience due to the head of the house. 603 854

It should not be assumed from the emphasis on the mother's and grandparents' relationships to the baby that the father is merely a figure in the background. A man shares very little in his offspring's training in the first four years, for he must be away from the house most of the day. When he is at home, the father may watch the baby for short periods if all the women are busy, but if the child needs special attention, the women take over. Away from home, though the small Papago is primarily his mother's charge, the father is perfectly willing to help; in town or at the fiesta, if the mother has other cares at the moment, the baby is not infrequently seen in his father's arms. 593 854

A father shares the pleasure of all the Papago in having children and is free to express it. Tots reciprocate their father's love, and many show great joy when he comes home in the evening to play with them. The baby also early becomes aware of the father as the family protector. The child and his mother rarely leave the village unless the father accompanies them. A mother sometimes quiets her child by warning him of supernatural dangers that may come while the father is away and unable to care for them; the child knows that it is his father who talks to strangers and drives away coyotes that prowl too near the house. At night the little one knows the intimate physical protection of both parents, for he sleeps between them.

Frequently the little child is assigned to the care of a sister or girl cousin of from eight to eighteen. (If there is no girl in this age range, a smaller girl or even a boy acts as a guardian, and boys seem to attach no stigma of effeminacy to the task.) The guardian shortly comes to perform for the baby almost every service that the mother does except nursing, and if she is left in complete charge, as she occasionally is, the girl will direct and correct the baby exactly as his mother would. The relationship between the guardian child and the baby is an intimate one; if the guardian is not much older, she may show impatience with her charge, but the two usually get on well. 857 854

Other members of the household may be adult aunts, uncles, or cousins of various degrees. With the women the baby's relations will not be very close until after he is weaned. These women will tend him when mother or grandmother is otherwise occupied and will indulge or correct him as she does. After the baby walks and joins a play group of his siblings or cousins, the 602 854

As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

Many cotton harvesters recognize these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

---

[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.